113 Yugoslavia EF1
231 Albania EG1
233 Rumania ED1
235 Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

4:Fleure S-5 (no date)1936 ED1 Rumania ED1

142
291

PLATE IV

Our shepherd guide down mountain-side to Paltinis, on journey from Borsec to Vatra Dornei. He was milking sheep at a "stâna."

Photo: H. J. Fleure.

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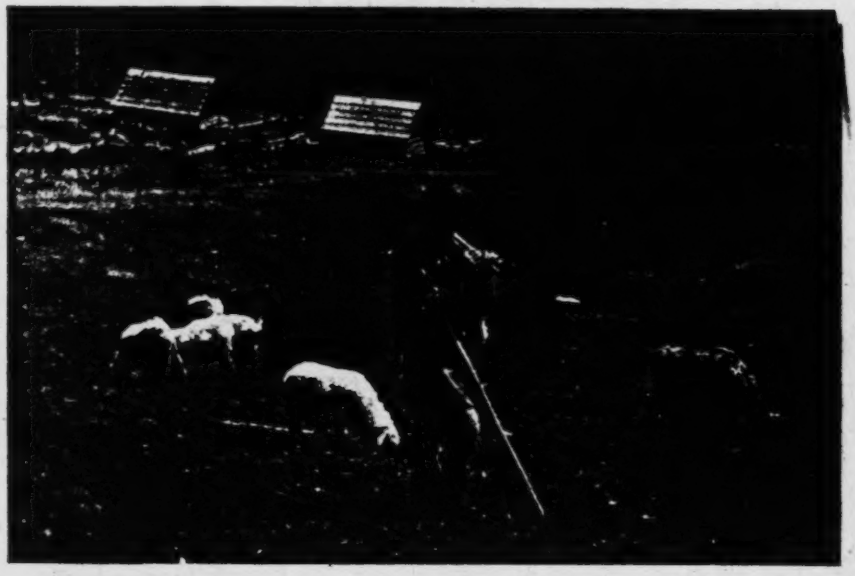


A mountain shepherd boy playing his wooden pipe near "stâna"—seen on journey to Paltinis.

Photo: H. J. Fleure

[Facing page 25]

137 *sitifolia, S. aizoides, S. aizoon, Erysimum Witmanni, Phyteuma orbiculare, Silene Zawadskii, Onobrychis montana var. transilvanica, Cerastium alpinum, C. lanatum, Oxytropus campestris, Alsine gerardi, Campanula alpina, C. carpatica, Alyssum repens* (endemic), *Rhinanthus alpinus, Rhodiola rosea, Sedum atratum.* In the cracks in the rocks where moisture collected were noted *Pinguicula alpina, P. vulgaris, Saxifraga aizoides, S. androsacea, Viola biflora, Arabis alpina, Achillea Schurii, Biscutella laevigata,* and *Androsace lactea.*

It was obvious that to make a detailed study of this interesting mountain with its forest, plateau, gullies, scree slopes, etc., and other varying ecological factors, a much longer time would have been necessary than was possible under the conditions of our visit to the country.

The Walk by Way of Bilbor, Paltiniş, Vatra Dornei, etc., and down the Bistrita River by Timber Raft to Broşteni (Brosceni).

133 This interesting excursion was made by a number of the
233 party, and afforded a very good opportunity of seeing the country as some fifty miles were covered on foot in two days. We passed over fine slopes and through delightful valleys with their meadows bedecked with many species of flowering plants. There was time during such a walk only to notice the most salient features of the vegetation. We, however, saw hillsides where sheep were grazed quite to the top, also
[342] a mountain dairy where they were being milked. The temporary shelters for those cropping the hay in the valleys at some distance from their usual habitations were interesting, and the whole family appeared to sleep there and cook their meals till the area had been cleared.

531 During our stay at Vatra Dornei, through the kindness of
346 the mayor and the prefect of the district, we were taken by car over a mountain pass down to Campulung and from thence to the wonderful walled monastery of Moldoviţa (Moldawitza) with fine sixteenth-century frescoes covering
313 its walls. The chief point of interest from a vegetation point of view was the fine spruce forests which we saw and in which felling was in progress, the logs being pushed down the mountain side to timber carts at the bottom. The next day we had evidence of the importance of the lumbering industry

233 TRANSHUMANCE has long played a prominent part in the
221 pastoral life of the Carpathians, for agriculturally the region is marginal and it is not very unusual for the maize crop, which covers an astonishingly large proportion of the arable land, to fail to mature. Before the late war the flocks of the eastern Carpathians used to winter in the plains of Moldavia, Bessarabia, the Dobrogea and south Russia, more rarely in Transylvania. During the nineteenth century, however, many Roumanian shepherds stayed in the plain and formed the nuclei of small permanent Roumanian colonies outside the boundaries of Transylvania.

423 DURING the last few centuries there have been considerable
311 changes in schemes of land holding. In the late eighteenth century the scattered possessions of the landlord class were consolidated into Latifundia. In the first half of the nineteenth century arable farming was extended into the Danubian plain and on the rich lands between Siret and Prut—in areas, that is to say, which had not been previously cultivated. This development progressed with the rise of an export trade in cereals to feed the industrial populations of the west. It is interesting to note that much of this newly-developed territory in Wallachia was organised on the system of métayage, the new colonists from the hills becoming tenants on a produce-sharing basis.

IN CONNECTION with this development, many of the Roumanian transhumant herdsmen gave up their pastoral life and settled as agriculturists or went into commerce. After 1918 the large estates were broken up and plots of land were given to the peasantry. This was the occasion for the return to Transylvania of some of the former emigrants who had gone to Wallachia and Moldavia, but naturally many features of the old life have disappeared, e.g. the July fairs that were formerly held high up in the mountains and did much to preserve the cultural heritage of the pastoral people.

[221] BUT, if large-scale seasonal migrations over long distances have declined, the short distance movements still play a vital part in the rural economy of the eastern Carpathians and fortunately have not as yet been divested of all their old-time ritual.

221 233 342 SCATTERED over the commune are eight "stâne" or temporary summer settlements which are all situated between 400 and 800 metres above the village. The stâna itself is a simple affair, consisting of a log hut which affords living accommodation for the shepherds and acts as a dairy and store-house, together with the folds into which the animals are driven for milking. The one illustrated had a population of three men and two boys, all Roumanians, 350 sheep and 20 cows, as well as a few pigs, the only animals left in the village being the one or two milch cows retained at each farm for family needs and the draught animals (see Plate XIII).

234 221 THE change from winter to spring takes place very rapidly during the second fortnight of April, and the ascent to the dairies is made at the end of that month or early in May. Before the animals are taken up the milk yield of the cows is tested in order to determine the apportionment of the cheese made therefrom, but the ewes' milk cheese is distributed on the basis of the number of sheep belonging to each peasant. Shortly after the ascent the village priest performs the ceremony of blessing each stâna in turn, and before the end of May the sheep are sheared by peasants who go up specially for the purpose, the wool being brought down to the village on horseback.

233 221 476 SINCE the summer pastures are communal property their administration is in the hands of an assembly of heads of families which assesses the rent to be paid for the season—generally 12-15 lei for a sheep and 50 lei for a cow. The money thus received forms a fund from which the shepherds are paid for their services. Each peasant makes personal arrangements with the senior shepherd as to the amount of cheese he will require for household purposes, any surplus going into a common stock which is marketed at the end of the season. Any disputes that arise are settled by arbitration in the presence of the mayor when the shepherds return to the village. This takes place during the latter part of October, the descent of each group being celebrated by minor festivities at which the shepherds are the guests of honour. The general feast held when all are down marks the official end of the season's activities.

221 476 UPON their return to the village the cows are immediately stabled, but each peasant splits up his sheep into two groups,

233
231 the main flock being taken direct to the sheds on the foothills where they are fed on the hay gathered during the summer, whereas the remainder are grazed on the maize stubble until about Christmas. By then the weather becomes rather severe, and although sheep are better able than cows to withstand the rigours of a continental winter they are all kept in sheds during the early months of the year.

SURPLUS ANIMALS are disposed of at the autumn fairs at Tulgheş or Topliţa where they are bought up by dealers for conveyance to Italy or Czechoslovakia.

III. OTHER OCCUPATIONS

TEXTILES.

291
286 THE OUTSTANDING FEATURE of the Carpathian villages is the remarkably high standard of peasant craftsmanship. The degree of artistic expression revealed in their clothing is particularly striking, and although best seen on festive occasions it is scarcely less noticeable in their ordinary working garb. Wool, flax and hemp are the traditional fibres used, but imported cotton yarn is beginning to displace linen for some of the lighter summer garments. Most of the dyestuffs are obtained from local plants, for example, red from the leaves of the wild crab apple, yellow from the osier, [38] black from the alder or birch and fawn from the walnut, but imported dyes are beginning to be employed. The mordant used is salt, but colours other than black fix themselves in wool without salt treatment.

462 SPINNING with a distaff is the normal occupation of the women in their leisure time during the summer, very little knitting being done at all. The other processes of combing, weaving and dyeing are also undertaken by the women, as is the embroidering of dresses and household linen, but the embroidering of the sheepskin waistcoats which are worn by both sexes is done by one or two men who specialise in this craft (see Plate XV).

LEATHER.

295 ALTHOUGH still made in the village, the old type of laced shoe with its characteristically pointed toe is being displaced

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1-39 EDI Rumania EDI

FARMING AROUND CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

AMY R. BURGESS

133 IN THE region of Curtea de Argeş the river flows in a valley of varying width, floored with fine sandy alluvium and bounded by somewhat rounded hills. Some traces of river terraces are discernible.

THE LAND of this region can be divided into four categories: (*a*) arable, (*b*) hay meadows, (*c*) forest, (*d*) high mountain pasture. The arable land is principally on the first terrace, but stretches both down the slope to the valley bottom and up the slope to the second terrace. The hay meadows are above the arable land, spreading upwards towards the [137] forest. The forests comprise 75 per cent of the total area, and consist mainly of timber trees, such as beech and pine, together with a considerable number of walnut trees. The high pastures are above the forest belt and may be as much as fifty kilometres away from the village centre of the commune to which they belong.

423 THE ARABLE land is owned by the peasants, holdings ranging from less than one hectare to fifty hectares, the majority being from two to five hectares. The smallness of the holding [428] is due partly to the laws of inheritance, by which the land is divided between the children on the death of the owner, and partly to the fact that the district is so hilly that only small areas are available for cultivation.

241 476 THE HAY meadows belong to the commune and are both worked and used collectively by the peasants, all necessary organization being in the hands of the mayor and committee.

471 [313] THE FORESTS are largely state-owned, although some portions belong to the commune, in which case the peasants are allowed to cut for their own personal use (house-building, implements, etc.), but not for profit.

[233] THE HIGH pastures belong to the commune; the peasants pay a small fee to the commune for their use (20 lei per head per season for sheep, rather more for cattle).

132 AN IMPORTANT climatic feature affecting agriculture is the shortness of the summer, late spring and early autumn frosts

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 ED1 Rumania ED1

TRANSHUMANCE IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS

233 221 IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS we have a region which still retains its pastoral activities, little disturbed by the social and economic forces which have invaded the pastoralists' domain elsewhere. Few Roumanian villages are without sheep, and in the summer great numbers are taken to the high pastures when these become free of snow. This seasonal migration, or transhumance, is an ancient feature of European life, and a study of its forms and functions in Roumania not only throws light on important aspects of peasant life, but provides valuable comparative material for the study of similar movements in regions like western Britain, where transhumance survives only in a modified way.

[291] SHEEP ARE the pivot of rural economy in these Carpathian lands; the pastoral element pervades all aspects of peasant life—from the traditional costumes of woollen cloth trousers and sheepskin waistcoat to popular poetry and music. But the intimate contact with upland pastures thus ensured has been of deeper significance: it has enabled the Carpathian peoples to preserve their sense of unity when the lowlands were overrun by invaders, while the contacts maintained between summering groups have helped to preserve the Roumanian language and kept its dialectal variations within limits. In a very real sense, the Southern Carpathians are the heart of Roumania.

133 PHYSICAL CONDITIONS have, from very remote times, favoured the development and survival of pastoral life. The steepness of the forested valley slopes which isolate the upland core is in strong contrast to the gently undulating platforms which rise above the tree-line, at about 5,000 feet, and terminate in rugged glaciated *monadnocks* which may reach 8,000 feet or more (Negoiu, 2,544 m.). The prolonged erosion of Tertiary times which produced the upland platforms also provided the great masses of unconsolidated material—mostly coarse sands—which now form the extensive foothills stretching half way to the Danube over a width of some sixty miles. Curtea de Argeş is one of the settlements of this foothill belt,

dependent for the working out of its economy, as for its setting, upon the high Southern Carpathians.

WHILE IN some parts of Roumania all the sheep must be moved to distant highlands in summer, there are many regions which have sufficient local pasture to keep a certain proportion of stock through the year. This applies to the country around Curtea de Argeş; here the late Tertiary (Pliocene) deposits are provided with frequent terraces. The lower terraces are glacial and may be three in number; higher up the dip-slopes of the coarse sands have often been cleared of the bad forests which still cling to the scarps, while at all levels slips have occurred in the loose materials to produce small mesa-like areas, sparsely covered with grass, juniper and birch, accessible to nimble sheep and goats.* In general, however, such local pasturage is reserved for cows in milk, while young cattle and bullocks, if not required for the many activities of farming and forestry, are sent with the sheep to the high pastures.

WE MAY best examine some of the features of this transhumance by following the sheep in their movements through the year in the valley of the Argeş and its background of high mountains, the Fagaras, extending eastwards from the valley of the Olt. The commune of Corbeni, some seventeen kilometres upstream, provides us with a few figures. Here is the first widening of the Argeş Valley, for the river has left the last range of the Carpathians (1,500 m.) through which it cuts one of the great gorges which characterize this zone, and it is here entering on its braided course through the Miocene and Pliocene deposits to the south. The proportion of forested land in the commune is high (75 per cent), and its 2,500 sheep can be maintained only by extensive transhumance. The summer pastures are from thirty to fifty kilometres distant, the stâne† extending from the forest's upper limit (1,500-1,600 m.) to the scarred rock faces of the high core at 2,000 m. Each commune has its stână, which takes its name from the mountain on which it is situated: it is the property of the commune, but there are certain payments to be made each year for the services of

*Goats tend to be kept only by the poorer peasants; they are naturally not encouraged by the Forestry authorities.

†Stână (singular). The word is applied as here to the summer pastures and also to the huts where the shepherds sleep and make the store the cheese. By extension it is sometimes used for the general economy of transhumant shepherding.

471 the shepherds and cheese-maker. These dues, amounting to
233 some 10 or 20 lei per sheep, are worked out each year by a committee which regulates the financial side of the trans-humant economy.

234 EACH STÂNĂ has its baciu or cheese-maker, who is paid by
233 the commune. In some districts this scheme is varied by
471 arrangements which must represent modifications of the old economy of collective shepherding. Occasionally a large farmer may be proprietor of a stână and may possess enough sheep to run his own pasturing, in which case he may either hire a cheese-maker or fill that rôle in person. Or he may let his stână to the highest bidder, who pays in cheese obtained from the flock. From this it is a short step to the emergence of the middleman who, possessing no sheep himself, rents a pasture and guarantees to return an agreed quantity of cheese per sheep to those who send him their stock.

233 BEGINNING OUR account with the descent from the mountains,
221 we find that the uppermost pastures are abandoned by the last day of August, and the return downhill takes place during the first fortnight in September, being normally completed by September 14th (The Feast of the Cross). The sheep are driven to the local pastures until the maize crop is gathered, when they are penned on the stubble. Movement uphill begins about the middle of April and is completed by May 1st in an average year, St. George's Day (April 23rd) being a central date. Each peasant is responsible for driving his own sheep, using recognized tracks which tend to follow the watersheds. The sheep thus avoid the deep valley-crossings and can avail themselves of occasional natural clearings for temporary halts in a journey which may last a week. These are points of some importance in connection with the study of ridgeway roads generally.

342 THE SHEPHERD'S hut is a log-cabin erected on a single foundation-course of boulders. It is roofed with shingles or long planks; the gable is boarded above the level of the eaves, and a gap at the apex serves in place of chimney. Scarcely any metal is used in the construction of these summer dwellings, which serve as dairies and storehouses in addition to providing shelter and sleeping-places for the shepherds.
000 The furniture is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is

1/n [for explanation see footnote 50 pp. 49, Cat. 116 -- Annlyst]

352 The furniture[1] is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is displayed in contriving hinges, benches, and so on, the devices used having an air of ancient custom about them. Nearly all the woodwork could be done with the axe (see
354 p. 47). A simple crane, the probable prototype of the iron
372 hearth-crane as we know it in Britain, allows the pot to be suspended at the desired distance from the open wood fire, which burns on a rough hearth towards the centre of the stamped earth floor. A certain sanctity attaches to the fire: it is not allowed to go out, and much ceremony accompanies its lighting. The "living fire" (*focul vin*) should be prepared on arrival at the head stână[2] of the commune's pasturage, by means of two sticks rubbed together, and the operation should be performed by a pure youth, otherwise the flocks will fare badly. The fire must then be carried to the other huts. We were not able to observe this custom, but the shepherd-boy at the Stână Găujoara, situated to the north of the watershed some fifteen miles south-west of Sibiu, was persuaded to show us how the fire was lit. Here the more familiar "flint-and-steel" method was used, but in place of flint the sparks were obtained from a piece of quartz, a substitution which suggests one reason for the common ceremonial use of quartz by ancient man in Europe.

●233 In the Carpathians, as in Europe generally, there is much
462 variation in the personnel of the transhumant shepherds, but the exclusion of women in some areas is a feature for which
000 parallels cannot readily be adduced. In Norway it is the women who take the flocks to the summer pastures, an arrangement which is natural where the men are fishers. The same scheme is found in parts of the Central Plateau of France, where the men cannot be spared from their work in the fields, and the same appears to have held for the Scottish Highlands. Switzerland offers the best example of mass transhumance, and the movements formerly practised in Wales and in Ireland, though simpler and less regular, seem to have involved men, women and children. The *hafodty*, described by Welsh writers early last century, was a cowhouse with a fire at one end, but no chimney, and, except that the whole was stone-built, the assemblage of pens and shelters must have closely resembled the Roumanian. In Wales, too, ewes were milked and sheep's cheese made into the nineteenth century.

In the Carpathians, while some stâne are inhabited by

1 [In the shepherd's hut -- Analyst]
2 [For explanatory footnote see 51 pp. 49, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

462 In the Carpathians, while some stâne are inhabited by
● 233 families of shepherds, others have men only, and purely "feminine" stâne are not unknown. There appear to be regional differences based perhaps on the varying requirements of the lowland crops, and all forms are said to be of some antiquity; it cannot be shown that the "masculine" stâne represent an older type than those where both sexes
[834] take part, or vice versa. But it is significant that in some parts there is a definite *tabu* against women, and the shepherds must have no relations with them in the prescribed season, from the arrival at the stână to July 20th (St. Eloi). In the areas we visited, while the shepherds were exclusively male, women from the villages occasionally ride up with messages or food, and may stay at the hut for a day or two.

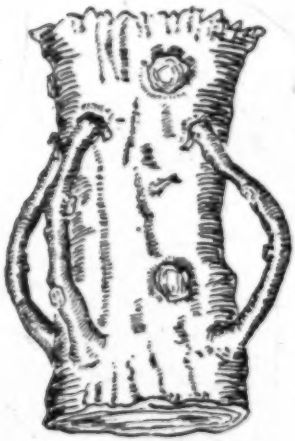
234 On reaching the pastures, to resume, the sheep are divided
233 into separate flocks—milkers and non-milkers, lambs and wethers. Only the milkers are kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the stână, the rest being driven uphill or to the shelter of the forest's edge, according to their requirements. Two milkings are usual, about 6 o'clock morning and evening. The sheep are driven into the *strunga*, a fenced enclosure near the hut, where the shepherd-boy introduces them one by one into a narrow roofed exit at which the milkers sit. The milk is forthwith poured into a copper cauldron over which the *baciu*[2] stands at the fireside, stirring
[326] the contents with the peeled, spiked top of a spruce. The copper pot is tinned inside, this work being done by the gipsies. Into the simmering milk the *baciu* throws a pinch of rennet, and then works the curds into a thick pulp. A simple press—a canvas bag twisted with a tourniquet and weighted with a stone—next comes into use, and after three days salt is added and the cheese is finally kneaded and stored in a sheepskin which has been specially prepared by drying and scraping. This is cheese of the first quality (brânză), a poorer quality (urdă) being obtained from the whey left in the copper after taking out the curds. The urdă is often stored in small skins, e.g. rabbit, or in containers made of bark or hollowed branches. Much of the cheese in these days is bought by co-operative societies.

262 It is the duty of the *baciu*,[2] further, to prepare food for the shepherds. Onions, beans and paprika make vegetable soup, and maize-bread and cheese complete a diet which may be varied now and again with smoked mutton. Another task

1 [for explanatory footnote see pp. 47, ct. 116 - - Analyst]
2 [cheese maker of the Stâna - 52 - Analyst]

devolving on the shepherds is the shearing, which is done twice in the summer, but they are spared the "dipping" regulations, which British shepherds find so irksome. For the rest there is much to be done to keep the flocks healthy and safe from wolves, to look after the dogs, to carry water and cut wood. In rare moments of leisure the shepherd will be found blowing his simple pipe, or singing songs, or carving a stick with his versatile knife, cutting out those ancient geometric patterns which are the common heritage of peasant Europe.

E. E. E.



A Beetle

A reaping glove

728 [135] of requirements for sulphuric-acid production. Of lesser importance were the salt and coal deposits.

[313] The forest resources of Northern Transylvania are estimated to have accounted for as much as 25 per cent. of pre-war timber production. Apart from timber the food and leather industries appear to have been the most developed. This [311] area was principally made up of forests and pastures; the arable land provided no surplus after local needs had been covered. Of livestock [433] losses the most outstanding feature was nearly 2 million sheep.

[496] The railway system, and particularly the railway administration, was severely handicapped by the change of frontiers, which in places cut one part of Rumania off from the other.

Caliacra and Durostor, the two ceded Dobrujan provinces, are mainly agricultural, and though producing a small surplus, contributed little to Rumania's total agricultural output. Of more significance is the cotton-growing area. There are no known mineral deposits, and industry in this area is on a very small scale, relying mainly on handicrafts.

TRANSNISTRIA

727 Transnistria is the name which has been given to the territory lying between the Dniester and the Bug, which was given to Rumania to administer in 1941 subsequent to its capture from the U.S.S.R. by Rumanian and German troops. Transnistria is part of the Southern Ukraine and is mainly agricultural, while such industry as existed has been of no use to the Rumanians on account of the heavy destruction carried out by the Russians. It is probably true to say that this territory has been more of a financial liability than an asset to Rumania on account of the heavy expenditure entailed in repairs, particularly of railways and bridges. Some little advantage has, however, been gained from the harvest of 1942-3.

288 31st December. There appears to be a good deal of passive resistance and hoarding.

Cotton spindles had increased from 35,600 in 1927 to 250,000 in 1938, and altogether there were 18 mills of some importance. Power looms in 1938 are believed to have amounted to about 16,000. The apparent disproportion of spindle compared with loom capacity was due to Rumania being a fairly important buyer of foreign yarns, imports being 23,000 tons in 1936, 27,000 in 1937, 14,000 in 1938 and 15,000 in 1939. About 70 per cent. of these yarns were of coarse cotton, called "peasants' yarns," for use in the handicraft industry only, and imported mainly from Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy and Great Britain.

2. Wool

236 Rumania, which had the largest wool-growing industry in S.E. Europe, was also the most important consumer. Production of raw wool in 1938 was about 20,000 tons (greasy) and imports were about 1,000 tons, and of wool yarn about 2,500 tons. On account of its coarse quality, not much more than one-third of the domestic wool clip is ordinarily used in the mechanised industry, the bulk being consumed in village handicraft. Since the war and subsequent loss of territory, [233] the sheep population of Rumania is believed to have declined by some 25 to 30 per cent., and all imports have ceased, so that the industry is now entirely dependent upon the reduced domestic clip.

288 Rumania was never a large importer of woollen cloth, and the weaving industry was always more highly developed than the spinning. The output of cloth in 1936 and 1937 being 6,000 tons and 6,600 tons respectively. In 1938, there were 127,000 mechanised spindles and 4,300 looms, the chief mill centres, in order of importance, being at Buhusi (district of Neamți), Brașov, Timișoara, Bacău, Bucarest and Sibiu.

655 Both the raw material and the woollen-textile
236 industry are nominally under strict Government
288 control, as by a decree in April 1942, the numbers of sheep and lambs and the quantity of shorn wool must be declared each year, and the wool itself must be surrendered to collecting centres at specified dates. As the due date for the 1942 collection had to be extended month by month up till January 10th, 1943, and all penalties abrogated, the success of the scheme appears to have been doubtful. No wool can be bought or sold except by permit of the Ministry of National Economy, and distribution to the mills is entrusted to an organisation known as "OFIL" (*Oficiul Lânei*), a company with a capital of 10 million lei, and including all firms concerned in the preparation of wool.

3. Hemp

248 In 1937 the area under hemp, which is grown chiefly in the Banat, was 50,000 ha. (123,000 acres) and the outturn 27,000 tons, most of which was consumed internally. Exact details of wartime plantings are not known, but are reported as 45,000 ha. (112,000 acres) and 32,500 ha. (80,300 acres) in 1941 and 1942, and the yield at about 21,000 and 20,000 tons respectively. For 1943, farmers have been urged to plant more hemp—the "national textile"—in order to cover clothing.

[29c]